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Christianized Targums The Usefulness of the Zamora Manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible for an Edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets*

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Abstract

There are two versions of the Targum of Samuel with Latin translation that have been written or edited by Christian scholars. The first is present in two manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora, viz. MSS 7542 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; dated 1533) and M-1, M-2 and M-3 (Biblioteca General Histórica, Universidad de Salamanca; dated 1532–1534). The second is edited in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1569–1572). Both the manuscripts and the Polyglot Bible were clearly made for a Christian readership, which is demonstrated in this article. The question arises of whether the Aramaic text in these manuscripts and this edition is suitable for the planned new critical edition of Targum Samuel.

Keywords

Targum Samuel; Targum edition; Antwerp Polyglot Bible; Alfonso de Zamora; Benedictus Arias Montano; Latin translation of Targum Samuel

Thorough research of the Latin translations of Targum Samuel makes one realize the Christian nature of the sources in which these translations have been incorporated. These sources consist of two manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora, MS 7542 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; dated 1533) and MSS M-1, M-2 and M-3 (Biblioteca General Histórica, Universidad de Salamanca; dated 1532–1534),¹ and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.² The term ‘Christian’ is naturally used for the

¹) This article is based on a lecture, given at the IOTS conference at Helsinki, Finland (2010). The research for this article was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). I am indebted to my colleagues Petra Janse, Berthold Bloemendal and André van der Stoel for assisting me in the collation process, and to Alberdina Houtman, Johanna Tanja and Hector Patmore for their valuable remarks.

¹) These manuscripts contain the same Latin translation, with some minor variations, mostly errors.

²) The Latin translation of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible is also used in the Paris and adapted in the London Polyglot Bible.

Antwerp Polyglot because it was produced by Christian scholars for a Christian readership, printed by a Christian printer. The same term, however, is not often used for the Zamora manuscripts, because they were prepared and written by converted Jews, albeit in a Christian environment. The Aramaic columns of these manuscripts are regularly cited and used in secondary literature without reference to their Latin setting and translation.

In this article I want to show the Christian characteristics of both the Zamora manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. It will appear that they have nearly everything in common in this regard. I will look at their Latin *Sitz im Leben*, their presentation of the Hebrew Bible—or in case of the Polyglot Bibles: the Old Testament—the order of the separate books and chapters, the Christian paratext,³ the way the Aramaic column is set up, the Latin column and traces of censorship. The latter topic will lead to the question of whether these manuscripts and the Polyglot Bibles are suitable as witnesses in a critical edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets.

1. Christian Purposes and Readership

The intended purposes, with which the manuscripts and the Polyglot Bible were produced, can be called Christian.⁴ The Zamora manuscripts were produced and copied within the University of Alcalá de Henares, in the aftermath of the project of the Complutensian Polyglot. Its zeal was to undertake Biblical Studies in the original languages,⁵ partly ‘to compel Islam and Judaism in Spain to submit their Scriptures to the supreme Scriptures of the Catholic Church.’⁶ Only Targum Onqelos was used for the Complutensian Polyglot itself. In the second prologue Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros explains that ‘other Targums, since “they are corrupt in places and contain tales and trifles from the Talmud and are therefore unworthy to be published with the sacred text” are omitted, but because of their being clear in some places they have been closely translated into Latin and placed in the Library of the University of Alcalá.’⁷ Even though Montano edited all the

³ G. Genette coined the word paratext in his book *Palimpsests* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982) as the verbal elements that accompany the text, within or outside the book itself. These verbal elements are characterized by authorial intention and assumption of responsibility. See further the article by Alberdina Houtman in this volume.

⁴ See in this volume the contribution of J.M. Tanja, ‘Brothers or Stepbrothers: Christianized Targum Manuscripts in the Sephardic Text Family’.

⁵ L. Díez Merino, ‘Fidelity and Editorial Work in the Complutensian Targum Tradition’, *VTSup* 43 (1991), pp. 360–382 (361).

⁶ Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants 1500–1900* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1990), p. 7.

⁷ Hall, *Humanists and Protestants*, p. 33.

Targums, he had to admit that some of the Targumic materials ‘contain apocryphal subject matter and a certain kind of text that is not satisfactorily coherent with the rest.’⁸ He was nevertheless convinced of the usefulness of the Aramaic translation because ‘one has to listen not only to *what* is said by the Holy Spirit through his prophets, preachers and translators, but also to *how* it is said.’⁹ He implicitly includes the Targum in the group of books which are inspired by the Holy Spirit and have therefore a certain authority in the Church.

The manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot were produced for a Christian readership. Ms 7542 has been copied for Don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, according to its colophon. This man was later Bishop of Ourense (1537–1539), Ciudad Rodrigo (1539–1541), Calahorra (1541–1543), and Segovia (1543–1549).¹⁰ In the years before his first appointment he toured the Kingdom of Valencia and began to set up rectories in the villages with the largest population of Moriscos,¹¹ to instruct these converted Muslims in the Christian doctrines and rites. The manuscripts of Salamanca were clearly copied for the University of Salamanca, as is stated in the beginning of Ms M-2.¹² The Antwerp Polyglot Bible was put together with the consent of King Philip II, as is printed on the first cover page, and for the use of the Christian Church. Its final redactor, Benedictus Arias Montano, even stated at the end of the Book of Ruth that he was ‘appointed over this work by the commandments of Philip, King of Spain.’¹³

To accommodate the Christian readership, the headings of the pages of these manuscripts and edition are in Latin, including the names of the Biblical books and the chapter indications. In all Zamora manuscripts the pages have to be read from left to right, according to the reading direction of Latin books. Zamora used

⁸) Benedictus Arias Montano in his prologue to the edition of the Aramaic text in the Second Volume of the Polyglot: *quia tamen apocryphum argumentum, et certum quoddam orationis genus continent, quod cum reliquo non satis coheret.*

⁹) Montano in the same prologue. Literally: *Neque enim solum quid à Spirito sancto, eiusque Prophetis, ministris, ac interpretibus dictum, sed quomodo dictum sit, potissimum observandum est.*

¹⁰) Linda Martz, ‘Implementation of Pure-Blood Statutes in Sixteenth-Century Toledo’, in: B.D. Cooperman (ed.), *In Iberia and Beyond. Hispanic Jews between Cultures* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 245–272 (255).

¹¹) S. Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478–1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 254.

¹²) Jewish manuscripts were not copied in universities or institutions, they were usually produced by and for individuals; cf. M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West. Towards a Comparative Codicology* (The Panizzi Lectures 1992; London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 9, 13, 81.

¹³) The text is put in Hebrew: המלכה הזאת במצות פליפוס מלך ספרד.

the abbreviation ‘cap.’ for chapter even in the Aramaic column and indicated the chapters with Arabic numbers. In this respect the Antwerp Polyglot Bible is more consistent in its use of language: the Hebrew and Aramaic columns are numbered in Hebrew letters, the Latin columns in Arabic numbers.

2. Christian Names and Contents

In our manuscripts and in the Polyglot Bibles the Christian order of the books, the Vulgate order, is followed: Ruth is placed between Judges and Samuel, and the books of Samuel and Kings are split in two. Ms 7542 and Ms M-1 contain the books Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings. The way the manuscripts and the editions are named, is in most cases typically Christian. Ms M-1 speaks in the Hebrew colophon about ‘the Former Prophets’ and later about ‘the 24 books of the Torah’, but gives the following Latin translation: *translatio chaldaica omnium librorum historicorum veteris testamenti cum latina interpretatione*, ‘Aramaic translation of all the historical books of the Old Testament with Latin interpretation.’ The Antwerp Polyglot mentions the term ‘Former Prophets’ in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but also adds the Book of Ruth.

In all cases the divisions between 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, are explicitly made. Zamora even uses the term ‘First Kings’ as the name of the first book of Samuel in Ms M-1:

נשלם ספר רות	<i>The book of Ruth is ended</i>
ונתחיל ספר שמואל	<i>and we begin the book of Samuel</i>
שחבמינו קורין לו ספר ראשון של מלכים	<i>which our sages also call the first book of Kings.</i>

Likewise, he calls the second book of Samuel the second book of Kings:

נשלם ספר ראשון של מלכים	<i>The first book of Kings is ended,</i>
שקורין לו ספר שמואל	<i>which they call the book of Samuel.</i>
תהלות לאל	<i>Praises be to God.</i>
ונתחיל ספר שני של מלכים	<i>And we begin the second book of Kings,</i>
בעזרת יוצר הפכים	<i>with the help of the Former of vials.¹⁴</i>

The first book of Kings is then called the third:

נשלם ספר שני של מלכים	<i>The second book of Kings is ended</i>
ונתחיל הספר השלישי	<i>and we start the third book.</i>

¹⁴) A vial of oil was used to anoint Saul (1 Sam. 10.1).

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible makes the same divisions, but never refers to the books of Samuel with the name ‘Kings’. At the end of 1 Samuel Montano simply says: *Finis I. Samuelis*, ‘End of 1 Samuel’.

Mss M-1, M-2 and M-3, in their totality, seem to have contained all the Aramaic books, except Targum Onqelos and Isaiah.¹⁵ The Antwerp Polyglot Bible actually contains all the Books of the Hebrew Bible, or rather, all the books of the Old Testament, because they are part of the Christian canon in this Bible. The custom of producing manuscripts containing the entire collection of the Bible, Hebrew or otherwise, was reintroduced in the Reform of the Clergy in eleventh century Italy. It resulted in large display manuscripts, containing Old and New Testament, emphasizing the importance of the Holy Book and its authority in the Church.¹⁶ A similar tradition is evident within the Jewish Ashkenazi communities from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards. The custom to edit entire Bibles is taken over by most printers in the sixteenth century: all the Rabbinic Bibles and the Polyglot Bibles contain all the books of respectively the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Bible.¹⁷

3. Christian Chapter and Verse Indicators

The chapters are indicated in a Christian way. I already mentioned the Latin abbreviation ‘cap.’ and the Arabic numbers in the Zamora manuscripts. Furthermore, Zamora uses red ink to indicate the first verse or verses of a new chapter. The Polyglot uses illustrated capital letters. It is clear that both Zamora and Montano usually followed the Vulgate in starting a new chapter, although they were aware of the fact that the Hebrew Bible sometimes has a different beginning. Three examples will demonstrate how they dealt with this problem:

- The division between 1 Sam. 1 and 2 in the Hebrew text differs from the Vulgate. The Vulgate puts the introduction to the direct speech of Hannah in chapter 1, starting chapter 2 with her prayer. This can also be seen in the Latin columns of the Zamora texts and the Antwerp Polyglot. The Aramaic columns of these texts—and likewise the Hebrew column of the Antwerp

¹⁵) For the omission of Isaiah, see L. Díez Merino, ‘La Biblia Aramea de Alfonso de Zamora’, *Cuadernos Bíblicos* 7 (1981), pp. 63–98.

¹⁶) D.J.D. Kroeze and E. van Staalduijne-Sulman, ‘A Giant among Bibles: “Erfurt 1” or Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*’, *AS* 4 (2006), pp. 197–209 (199).

¹⁷) This is not the case with the Leiria edition. Furthermore, not every printed Rabbinic Bible is bound in its entirety. For example, the First Rabbinic Bible of the *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana* of Amsterdam only contains Torah, Megilloth and Prophets.

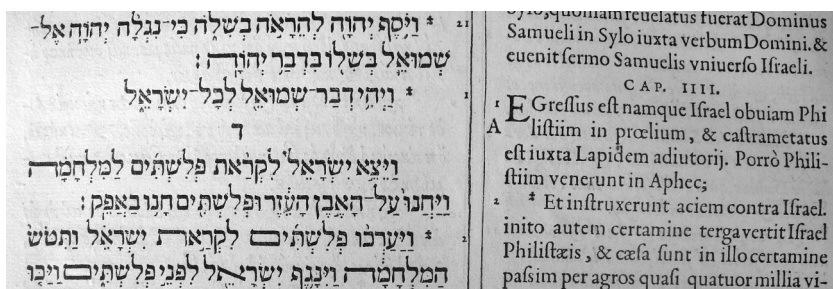


Fig. 1. Part of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, 1 Sam. 3.21–4.2: The first part of 4.1 in the Hebrew column is printed before the chapter indication. This phrase is printed as the last part of 3.21 in the Latin column (Vulgate). The situation in the Targum column resembles the Hebrew column.

Polyglot—exhibit the Hebrew division: Chapter 2 starts with the introduction ‘And Hannah prayed in a prophetic spirit and said ...’

- For the transition from 1 Sam. 3 to 4 Zamora chose the Vulgate division. The verse ‘And the word of Samuel came to all Israel’ is taken as the last sentence of chapter 3. Montano, however, had to show his awareness of both traditions, because he numbered all the verses. So, he took the same verse as the last sentence of chapter 3, but numbered it as ‘1’. After that verse 1 he put a Daleth, the sign for the fourth chapter.
- 1 Sam. 20–21 is dealt with in a purely Christian way: the verse ‘He [David] got up and left; and Jonathan went into the city’ is the last verse of chapter 20, although it is the first verse of chapter 21 in the Hebrew Bible. According to the Christian tradition, Montano gave this verse a separate number, 20.43.¹⁸

Parallel to the Song of Hannah, where a new chapter started, Zamora also indicated other poems in his text with red ink. David’s elegy about Saul and Jonathan is indicated with one red verse (2 Sam. 2.10), in this case the introduction ‘And David sang this lament about Saul and about Jonathan his son’. The elegy about Abner in 2 Sam. 3.33 is likewise indicated.

Verse indication is used in the Antwerp Polyglot after the example of Sanctes Pagninus’ Bible translation.¹⁹ Neither Zamora nor the Complutensian Polyglot had used the system of numbering every verse. This lack of numbering gave Zamora the freedom to follow the Vulgate in its translation if the Vulgate

¹⁸⁾ Likewise Zamora and Montano chose to follow the Vulgate division between 2 Sam. 18 and 19 in both columns.

¹⁹⁾ *Biblia sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (Lyon: Hwgonem à Porta, 1528).

neglected the transition from one verse to the other. Zamora translated 1 Sam. 2.12–13 as one sentence, as did the Vulgate: *nesciebant timere a facie domini neque ritum sacerdotum a populo*, ‘they [Hophni and Phinehas] did neither know to fear from before the Lord nor the priestly rite concerning the people’. The last words of 1 Sam. 20.5 are connected to verse 6 by Zamora, as in the Vulgate: *dimitte ergo me et abscondar in agro usque ad tempus vespertinum: in die tertio [6] si quaerens quaesierit me pater tuus dices ...*, ‘let me go and I will hide in the field until the evening. On the third day, if your father seeks me, you will say ...’

4. Jewish and Christian Paratext

As already mentioned, most paratext has a Latin and Christian setting. Typically Jewish paratext has been left out, such as the Masorah, the Ketiv-Qere and haftaroth indications, and microscript illustrations. What is more important, the Jewish function of the Targum has been left out: translation of and commentary on the Hebrew Bible. In most extant manuscripts the Targum functions in tandem with the Hebrew original, either alternating or in parallel columns. Some manuscripts contain the Targum text only but every verse starts with a reference to the corresponding Hebrew verse. Only a small group of manuscripts ‘simply presents the Aramaic text without any reference to the Hebrew.’²⁰ In the case of the Zamora manuscripts the paratext Targum becomes the text and the Latin translation its paratext. The Vulgate becomes a megatext²¹ for the Zamora manuscripts because Zamora based his Latin translation of the Targum on the Vulgate wording. For experienced readers—and only experienced readers were allowed to study this text—the Vulgate was always in the background of their reading. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible is a different case. The Hebrew text, the Septuagint and the Targum function as the basic text, the Vulgate and the other Latin translations serve as their basic paratext.

Still, Jewish paratext is not entirely absent. Two poems of Kimhi are integrated into Ms M-1, one at the beginning of the books of Samuel, as a kind of introduction. Zamora tells his reader by the way, that he is not writing in his own tongue: neither Aramaic nor Latin was his mother tongue.

²⁰) W.F. Smelik, ‘Orality, Manuscript Reproduction, and the Targums’, in: A.A. den Hollander et al. (eds.), *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions. The Textual Markers of Contextualization* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 49–81 (72).

²¹) Megatext is the ‘container term for all textual artefacts that, textually, help make sense of the text’, such as legible tokens, the language shared between composer and reader, fragments of texts on which the reader draws to interpret the text and so on. Cf. A.A. den Hollander, et al., ‘Introduction’, in: A.A. den Hollander et al. (eds.), *Paratext and Megatext*, pp. vii–xiii (viii–ix).

דברי קמחי בחרו	<i>The words of Kimbi in rhyme</i>
והם תפלה	<i>and they are a prayer:</i>
מכונן מלתי	<i>He who establishes my word</i>
ועד לא שפתי	<i>even though not in my own tongue</i>
מכונן גופתי	<i>He who establishes my body</i>
ויוצר נשמתי	<i>and forms my soul.</i>
היה נא עזרתי	<i>Please, be my help</i>
וישר דברתי	<i>and make right my utterance</i>
בספר אפרתי	<i>in the book of the Ephrathbite</i>
שמואל רמתי	<i>Samuel the Ramabite</i>

Note that the poem contains both parallelism—the main characteristic of Biblical Hebrew poetry—and rhyme—an important feature of the *piyyutim*. The other poem stands at the beginning of the books of Kings, also as a kind of introduction.

דברי קמחי	<i>The words of Kimbi:</i>
מקים מלכים	<i>He who raises up kings</i>
ומשפיל נסיכים	<i>and humbles rulers,²²</i>
מאיר חשכים	<i>who enlightens the ignorant</i>
ומורה נבוכים	<i>and teaches the perplexed,²³</i>
אל הוא לבדו	<i>is God, He alone,</i>
יורה לעבדו	<i>may He teach his servant,</i>
דוד בחסדו	<i>David, in his faithfulness,²⁴</i>
בספר מלכים	<i>in the books of Kings</i>

These poems could be taken as an indication of Zamora's Jewish background. On the other hand, Montano also based himself on various Jewish sources. In his preface to Volume 7, under the title *Benedicto Ariae Montano th. doctiss. salutem precatur aeternam Guido Fabricius Boderianus*, he sums up which sources he used and comes to a list of both Christian and Jewish authors:

- Santes Pagninus, *Enchiridion Expositionis Vocabularum Haruch, Thargum, Midrascim, Berescith, Scemoth, Vaicra, Midbar Rabba, et Multorum Aliorum Librorum* (Rome, Fr. Tho. Strozii, 1523)

²²⁾ A clear reference to Tg. 1 Sam. 2.7–8.

²³⁾ Reference to the work of Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, a philosophical work harmonizing and differentiating Aristotle and Jewish theology. David Kimhi was a great admirer of Maimonides.

²⁴⁾ Reference to David Kimhi himself.

- Elias Germanus (Elijah ha-Aschkenazi or Elia Levita,²⁵ 1468–1549):
 - *Sefer Methurgeman* (Isny: Fagius, 1541)
 - *Thisbi* (Isny: Fagius, 1541)
- Magister Aruc (Nathan ben Jehiël; 1035–1106), *Ha-Arukh* (Venice: Bomberg, 1532)
- Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), who wrote several books on Hebrew and Aramaic:
 - and Konrad Pellikan: *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel: Froben, 1520)
 - *Institutiones grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam*, (Basel: Froben, 1524)
 - *Chaldaica Grammatica* (Basel: Froben, 1527)
 - *Dictionarium chaldaicum* (Basel: Froben, 1527)
- Commentaries of David Kimchi (1160–1235)
- Commentaries of Schelomoh Iarchi (Rashi; 1040–1105)

Other introductory poems, however, indicate that Zamora was a Christian. In MS M-2 he regularly refers to Jesus and calls him ‘Messiah’, ‘Son of God’, or ‘Saviour’. To give one example: at the beginning of the book of Ezekiel he writes:

נשלם ספר ירמיהו עם קינותיו	<i>The book of Jeremiah is ended, with his Lamentations</i>
שבח לאל הסולח עונות בריותיו	<i>Praise to God, who forgives the transgressions of his mankind</i>
ועתה נתחיל ספר יחזקאל	<i>And now we begin the book of Ezekiel</i>
בעזרת ישוע משיחנו בן אלהים חי וגואל	<i>with the help of Jesus, our Messiah, Son of the living God²⁶ and Saviour</i>

This kind of text in between books is also visible in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. Montano writes in both Hebrew and Latin his introductions and afterthoughts. For example, at the end of Ruth he mentions his name, his appointment by King Philip II, and—just like Zamora—adds a prayer in the name of Jesus the Messiah:

תם ספר רות	End of the Book of Ruth
ונקרא ומוגה עם רב עיון על ידי בנדיכטוס	Read and corrected with much care by
אריאש מונאטנוס ממונה על המלאכה	Benedictus Arias Montanus, appointed over
הזאת במצות פיליפוס מלך ספרד מלך טוב	this work by the commandments of Philip, King of Spain, the good king.

²⁵ For this identification, see G.E. Weil, *Elie Lévi, Humaniste et Massorète (1469–1549)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp. 127–128, quoted by Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), p. 26, n. 77.

²⁶ Allusion to Mt. 16.16.

וירא האלהים על כל אשר הם	May God see to all who are reading in the
קוראים בשם ישוע המשיח	Name of Jesus Messiah.

Montano also composed a poem as an introduction to the Latter Prophets. It is written in Hebrew and put in rhyme. He praises God in twelve strophes that cannot be called typically Christian. The first strophe runs as follows:

אשירה לאדוני אלהי	<i>Let me sing to my Lord, my God</i>
אשירה לו ואהלל אותו	<i>Let me sing to Him, and let me praise Him,</i>
כי הוא יוצרי וישועי	<i>for He is my Maker and my Saviour</i>
והוא הצילני מרע כולו	<i>and He rescued me from all evil.</i>

5. The Aramaic Column

Both Zamora manuscripts were made for a Christian readership. This is also visible in the awkward vocalization and punctuation of the Aramaic column. Zamora regularly divided one Aramaic word over two lines and used hyphens to indicate that. Breaking off words was also common in Italian manuscripts, but there it only occurred after prepositions and without hyphenation signs.²⁷ Furthermore, Zamora placed signs to indicate where a new half verse starts, instead of the *Atnah*. He uses a horizontal, curved line to indicate the break. To accommodate his Christian readers he also adds a small plumb line above accented syllables if the word is not accented on the last syllable. This is done in the Complutensian Polyglot by the *accent circonflexe*. Furthermore, Zamora indicated prefixes that do not belong to the word itself with a wedge shaped sign, such as prepositions and the particle *ד*.²⁸

The vocalization of the Antwerp Polyglot is entirely reconstructed by the Antwerp team of editors. Under the title *Variae Lectiones et annotatiunculae* Franciscus Raphelengius writes in Volume 8 of the Polyglot why and how that was done. First he complains how corrupted most manuscripts are with regard to vocalization. There are as many vocalization systems as regions where punctuators worked. Furthermore, some punctuators were not even trained in Aramaic. Therefore, the Antwerp team made a vocalization system on the basis of the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, with the aid of a Syriac grammar and dictionary,

²⁷⁾ M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (Paris 1977, repr. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), p. 102. It also occurs in Yemenite practices.

²⁸⁾ So was Zamora's habit in other manuscripts, cf. L. Díez Merino, 'A Spanish Targum Onqelos Manuscript from the Thirteenth Century (Villa-Amil N. 6)', *JAB* 3 (2001), pp. 41–55 (48).

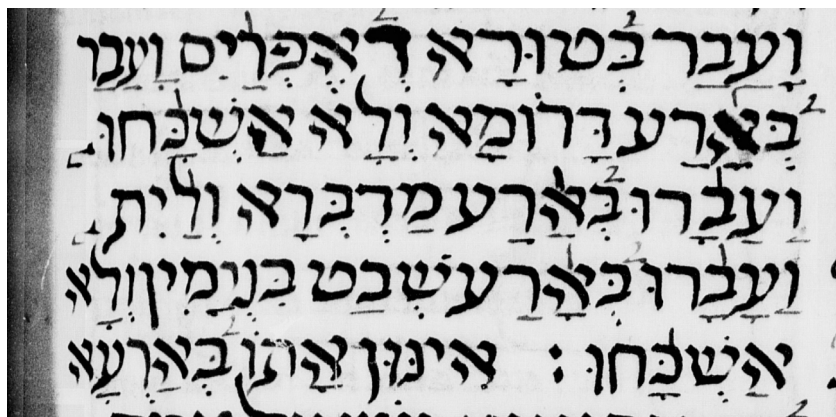


Fig. 2. Part of the Aramaic column (1 Sam. 9:4) of MS M-1 (Salamanca).
Visible are the indicators of prepositions and particles, the line above
accented syllables and the indications of verse and half verse.²⁹

given by Andreas Masius. They used the Syriac New Testament, which had been published some years before, as an example.³⁰

Ms 7542 has even more hints that it was written for the non-Jewish reader. In the margin, Zamora added the roots of the words used in the text. A reader, even if not acquainted with the Aramaic language, could easily find the word in a dictionary. Such a dictionary was made as a supplement to the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, although it does not contain all the Aramaic words from Targum Jonathan. Neither the Complutensian nor the Antwerp Polyglot Bible give such help to the non-Aramaic reader.

6. The Latin Columns

The Vulgate was used as the prompter, that is the base text, for Zamora's translation,³¹ but words and phrases were changed where necessary. The main reason for

²⁹) Photograph reproduced with permission of Óscar Lilao Franca, librarian of the *sección de fondo antiguo* of the Biblioteca General Histórica, Universidad de Salamanca.

³⁰) J.A. Widmanstetter, *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii de Iesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro* (Vienna: M. Zimmermann, 1555), also used for the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. See also R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions; Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 137–169.

³¹) L. Díez Merino suggests that Pablo Coronel was the original producer of the Latin

changes was, of course, the deviations of the Aramaic text from the Hebrew original. A comparison between the Vulgate and our Latin translation of verses 1 Sam. 2.6–7:

Vulgate 1 Sam. 2.6–7

Dominus

mortificat et vivificat

deducit ad infernum et reducit

Dominus pauperem facit et ditat
humiliat et sublevat

Alfonso de Zamora 1 Sam. 2.6–7

Omnia haec facta sunt per potentiam Domini qui
dominatur in saeculo.

mortificat et dixit ut vivificaret

deducet ad inferos et futurus est ut reducat ad vitam
sempiternam

Dominus pauperem facit et ditat
humiliat, et sublevat

One look is enough to show that the Vulgate had functioned as the base text. The first sentence is added because the Aramaic version added it. The difference between *vivificat* and *dixit ut vivificaret* is based on the Aramaic change, but the verb is maintained and the construction with *ut* is often used in the Vulgate. The change from the present tense *deducit* to the future tense of *deducet* may be an adaption to the future tense of the second half of the verse. It could be one of the translator's own ideas, namely that the division between hell and heaven will be decided at the end of times. The use of *inferos* instead of *infernum* is strange, because both words can mean netherworld or hell and the use of the plural *inferos* does not match the Aramaic. The long phrase *futurus est ut reducat ad vitam sempiternam* is based on the Aramaic. Again the Vulgate verb is maintained, while using the construction with *ut*. Verse 7 is identical with the Vulgate in every detail.

The fact that Zamora based his translation on the Vulgate has two consequences. First, it is relatively easy to compare the Targum with the Vulgate and conclude where the differences are and what the character of the Targum is. Its side effect was that one could easily see *that* the Targum differed from the Vulgate—and therefore from the Christian interpretation history of the Hebrew text. This insight could of course be used to accuse the Jews of having corrupted the holy texts. Secondly, using the Vulgate gives the translation a Christian flavour. In particular his systematic use of the word *christus* for every form of the root מָשַׁח (for example 1 Sam. 2.10) gives the entire text of the books of Samuel a certain 'Christian' flavour.

The Latin translations of the Antwerp Polyglot mainly depend on the extant translations of the Complutensian Polyglot producers. The Latin version of the

translation in his article 'La Biblia Aramea completa de la Universidad de Salamanca', *Helmantica* (2001), pp. 173–227 (209).

Targum in the first Volume, the Pentateuch, was taken over from the Complutensian Polyglot itself. A new translation had to be made for the Former Prophets because the Complutensian Polyglot only gave Targum Onqelos and Montano's manuscript contained no more than the Latin translation of the first verses of Joshua.³² Montano's own translation has a different character, because it was based on the principles—and sometimes on the examples—of Sanctes Pagnini, a Dominican Hebraist (1470–1536).³³ Plantin intended to use Pagnini's translation as *the* Latin translation alongside the Hebrew text, but King Philip II made him understand that he could not neglect the Vulgate.³⁴ Therefore, he used the Vulgate in the Polyglot text itself, but printed the Pagnini text—after modifications by Raphelengius—as an interlinear translation to the Hebrew text in the last volume.³⁵ An example will show that the translation principles of the Antwerp Polyglot were a lot more literal than those of Zamora.³⁶

<i>Aramaic text of Alfonso de Zamora</i>	<i>Alfonso de Zamora 1 Sam. 2.6–7</i>	<i>Antwerp Polyglot 1 Sam. 2.6–7</i>	<i>Aramaic text of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible</i>
כל אילין הוה בגבורתא דיי דהוא שליט בעלמא	omnia haec facta sunt per potentiam Domini qui dominatur in saeculo.	Dominus qui ipse regnans in saeculo	יי דהוא שליט בעלמא
ממית ואמר לאחאה	mortificat et dixit ut vivificaret	mortificat, et dixit ad vivificandum;	ממית ואמר לאחאה
מחית לשאול	deducet ad inferos	<i>descendere facit</i> ad infernum,	מחית לשאול
אף עתיד לאסקא לחיי עלמא	et futurus est ut reducatur ad vitam sempiternam	etiam futurus ad <i>educere faciendum</i> ad vitas saeculi.	ואף עתיד לאסקא לחיי עלמא

³²) It is striking that the beginning of the Latin translation of the first chapter of Targum Joshua in the Antwerp Polyglot is indeed almost identical to Zamora's translation of this chapter.

³³) Cf. A. van der Heide, *Hebraica Veritas: Christoffel Plantin en de christelijke Hebraïsten* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 2008), p. 130.

³⁴) B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527–1598: studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden, op grond van hun briefwisseling* (Amsterdam: dissertation, 1961), p. 102.

³⁵) Van der Heide, *Hebraica Veritas*, p. 132.

³⁶) For a definition of 'literal' with regard to translations, see J. Barr, 'The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations', *NAWG* 11 (1979), pp. 279–325. He mentions the idea that where literalism is far enough advanced, a translation begins to be a guide to the form of the original language or a reflection of that form (p. 318).

יִי מִמְסַכֵּן וּמַעֲתֵר	Dominus pauperem facit et ditat	Dominus egere faciens et ditans,	יִי מִמְסַכֵּן וּמַעֲתֵר
מִשְׁפִּיל אֶף מְרִים	humiliat, et sublevat	deprimens, etiam extollens.	מִשְׁפִּיל אֶף מְרִים

Four things stand out regarding literalism. First, the *ut*+conjunctive construction is replaced by *ad*+gerund, a construction which looks more like the ל+infinitive of the Aramaic text. Secondly, the Hiphil forms are partly rendered with a *facit*+infinitive construction, which is also the case in the Pagnini version (in italics in the sample). Thirdly, the present participles of the Targum are consistently maintained. Fourthly, Aramaic אֶף is rendered both times with ‘etiam’, not with ‘et’. Montano wrote about this literalism in his preface to the Second Volume. He was aware of possible criticism on his translation principles, but he gives two counter-arguments: (1) practically, Christian students can more easily learn Aramaic through a literal translation; and (2) theologically, one has to listen not only to what is said by the Holy Spirit through his prophets, preachers and translators, but also to how it is said. It led to fierce criticism: his opponents considered literalism in translations dangerous, because it could lead to the idea that the Vulgate was not a good translation and that the Hebrew text gave more insight than the tradition of the Church. This gave way to Humanism and Protestantism, because apparently authority was no longer held by the Church, but by the text.

Montano’s translations of the root מִשַׁח show that he was less careful than Zamora in keeping to the Vulgate’s example of how to translate the Holy Scripture. He, as a highly esteemed Catholic scholar in favour with King Philip II, could do that much easier than a converted Jew, who was looked upon with suspicion in Catholic Spain. Montano did not use the Vulgate translation of *christus* for מִשַׁח, but distinguished between the anointed kings of the past, which are called *unctus*,³⁷ and the coming Messiah of eschatological times, who is called *Messias*.³⁸

7. Censorship

All considered, it is clear that both the Zamora manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible are thoroughly Christian. In fact, the Zamora manuscripts display even more Christian traits than the Polyglot. For example, Zamora called the book of Samuel First and Second Kings, he based himself on the Vulgate in his Latin translation, and he sometimes followed the verse and chapter division

³⁷⁾ So 1 Sam. 2.35; 12.3, 5; 16.6; 24.7, 11; 26.9, 11, 23; 2 Sam. 1.14, 16, 21; 19.22; 22.51; 23.1.

³⁸⁾ So 1 Sam. 2.10; 2 Sam. 23.3.

of the Vulgate. Nevertheless, we have the testimony that Zamora and his team copied the Jewish Targum text with fidelity, while we must doubt that for the Antwerp Polyglot team.³⁹ The Aramaic text of the Antwerp Polyglot is shorter in the historical books than the Zamora texts. Who did the censoring?

The Complutensian Polyglot Bible very radically censored the Targum out, except for Targum Onqelos. The Zamora manuscripts show no traces of censorship. The text fits very well within the Sephardic tradition⁴⁰ and it even adds a few Tosefta Targums to Targum Samuel—within the text and not on separate pages. The only censoring one could point out is the fact that he indicates the entire Song of Hannah as ‘tosefta.’ Most Sephardic manuscripts use one indication, at the beginning of 1 Sam. 2.1, but Zamora gives six indications, at the beginning of the first six verses. Perhaps the omission of the word ‘Rome’ in Micah 3.8–10 (MS M-3 of Salamanca) is a second result of censoring the text. He likewise censors his own Latin translation, by leaving out a clear indication of Rome.⁴¹

The text of the Antwerp Polyglot is definitely censored. Montano admits that he used a censored *Vorlage*, bought by his colleague Andreas Masius in Rome, but recognized by him as originating from the Complutensian scholars. Many things were left out from the main text of the manuscript and put in separate sections with an appropriate indication that those parts of the text were superfluous. Montano himself described it as follows:⁴²

Those additions that are extant in the other normal manuscripts are notated in separate passages. A great part of them is justifiably indicated and can be considered separately from the context of this manuscript. However, they may contain nothing that could offend the reader, because they contain apocryphal subject matter and a certain kind of text that is not satisfactorily coherent with the rest. So, we especially made use of this purged manuscript, received by Masius and endowed with Latin by us, insofar as we could, in a faithful and careful way, in this Bible.

It is obvious that Montano did not integrate the purged passages in his own text. He writes in the same preface that the censoring was done by the command of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros:

³⁹) L. Díez Merino, ‘Fidelity and Editorial Work in the Complutensian Targum Tradition,’ *VTSup* 43 (1991), pp. 360–382 (381).

⁴⁰) See E. van Staalduijne-Sulman, ‘Vowels in the Tree: the Role of Vocalisation in Stemmatology,’ *AS* 3 (2005), pp. 215–240.

⁴¹) See in this volume: Hans van Nes, ‘And the Streams of Rome Will Turn into Pitch.’

⁴²) In his Preface to the Second Volume of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. See also M. Engamare (ed.), *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano a la Biblia Regia de Felipe II. Estudio Introductorio, edición, traducción y notas de María Asunción Sánchez Manzano* (Colección Humanistas Españoles, 32; León: Universidad de León, 2006), pp. 63–69.

This work [Targum Jonathan to the Former Prophets; EVSS], though, is for sure elegant and useful to the extent that it corresponds to the Hebrew reading, but it is augmented with considerable additions in many places, which are consistent neither with the rest of the style of the author—if everything is well compared—nor with the straight sense of the Hebrew truth. This held Ximenius⁴³ himself back from editing this Targum before he organized that it would be purged;⁴⁴ this is what he himself indicated in the preface to his Bible. When he had therefore commanded that this manuscript should be rightly purged and had it handed over to someone else in order that it would be endowed with Latin, he suddenly died, as we have said already.

The Zamora manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible stand equally and thoroughly in a Christian tradition of editing texts. This arouses the suspicion that the text may also have been adapted to the Christian readers, in short, that they were censored. There is, however, a great difference between the text of Zamora's manuscripts and that of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. Whereas Zamora's texts very rarely show traces of censoring, the Aramaic text of the Antwerp Polyglot is definitely censored. Montano pointed to Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros as the source of this censoring, in the sense of indicating and separating the suspect parts of the text, but Montano himself finished the censoring,⁴⁵ in the sense of leaving out those parts of the text.⁴⁶

8. Towards an Edition of the Targums

According to Bruce Waltke, there are at least five approaches in contemporary textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁷ All have their advantages and disadvantages, but these are highly dependent on the aim of the editor. Targum editing can learn from these approaches, not in the least by phrasing an ultimate aim. Waltke formulates the five approaches as follows:

⁴³) The Latin version of the name 'Jiménez'.

⁴⁴) Using the verb 'expurgo', which was also used to indicate Christian censoring lists, the so-called *index expurgatorius*.

⁴⁵) Some material is given in Volume 8, under the heading *Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta, quae supervacanea esse videbantur*, but only that part that was extant in other manuscripts or in the Second Rabbinic Bible. The material in Volume 8 indicates that Montano used at least one extra Ashkenazic manuscript.

⁴⁶) The two meanings of the word 'expurgo' (indicating and leaving out) are discussed by P.W. van Boxel, *Rabbijnenbijbel en Contrareformatie. Kerkelijk toezicht op de joodse traditie onder Gregorius XIII (1572–1585), getoetst aan drie manuscripten uit de Biblioteca Vaticana* (Hilversum: Gooi & Sticht, 1983).

⁴⁷) B.K. Waltke, 'Aims of Textual Criticism', *WTJ* 51 (1989), pp. 93–108.

1. Restoring the original composition, i.e. recovering ‘as much as possible the *ipsissima verba* of the inspired person’. In this case, it would be an attempt to recover the *ipsissima verba* of the first translator, or translators.
2. Restoring the final text, that is, ‘the end product of the genetic processes and, at the same time, the starting point of the processes of written transmission.’⁴⁸ This has the advantage of an almost objective text from which ‘many or possibly most intentions of later contributors’ have been removed. It has the disadvantage of a reconstructed, non-extant text.⁴⁹ One can also take a single manuscript as a basic text, if there is a text very close to what would be the final text, a so-called diplomatic edition.
3. Restoring the earliest attested text by limiting the editorial ‘work to textual options actually extant in ancient texts and versions’. It has the advantage of using only extant texts, but the disadvantage of using much later texts. Especially in the case of the Targum, most manuscripts originate after 1100. Earlier manuscripts are fragmentary and cannot be used as the basic text for the entire edition.
4. Restoring accepted texts, that is, isolating ‘a number of textual layers and/or traditions belonging to varying communities of faith’. This would mean for the Targum of the Former Prophets that an edition could be made of each textual tradition, for example, a Babylonian⁵⁰ or a Sephardic edition. This has the advantage that scribes can ‘be seen as helpful publishers, making the text accessible, intelligible, and sometimes even freshly relevant to their immediate audiences.’ However, it also departs from the ideal of recovering the original text.
5. Reconstructing final texts, that is, recognizing ‘original literary variants’ in contrast to ‘secondary transmissional variants’. This presupposes that there never was a single final text, but that the text always had existed in more than one edition. This might be true for some Biblical Books, but it is not necessarily the case with Targum Jonathan.

Option 1, restoring the words of the first translator, is impossible in Targumic studies, since we all assume that a long redaction process has taken place after

⁴⁸) See F.E. Deist, *Towards the Text of the Old Testament* (Pretoria: D.R. Church Booksellers, 1978), p. 24.

⁴⁹) However, a construct should first of all be regarded as an instrument for studying the evidence. And secondly, one can treat an eclectic text as the most recent manuscript. Cf. H.P.S. Bakker, *Towards a Critical Edition of the Old Slavic New Testament: A Transparent and Heuristic Approach* (Amsterdam: diss. University of Amsterdam, 1996), p. 9.

⁵⁰) As is done by E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatán de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica*, II. I–II Samuel (TECC, 38; Madrid: CSIC, 1987).

the first composition and since we have almost no attested texts from before this process. Harry Sysling mentions early Aramaic quotations from a Targum that are not in line with what we now know as Targum Jonathan. Only in one case, he argued ‘that the Talmudic variant might be older than the standard Jonathan version.’⁵¹ A choice must be made between the other four. A search for the original, final text seems natural, since a search for the oldest extant text will only end in editing fragments. This rules out option 3, restoring the earliest attested text. Option 2 is therefore the most likely option, if one wants to somehow reconstruct an original redaction of Targum Jonathan. The history of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, with its purged text, shows that it is not suitable at all in this reconstruction.

Neglecting all the extra material of Western scribes, who wanted to make the text as intelligible and relevant as possible, would be a waste. This material can be made fruitful by studying it in relation to the growth of the various Jewish communities and the possible external influences, both in the Islamic and in the Christian world. It is also important to establish the origin of all the extra material: has there ever been an ‘original’ rich text of Targum Samuel or are most additions made in later centuries in the European context? For the time being, it is deemed best both to reconstruct the original text (option 2) and to give such a broad critical apparatus that allows the reader to see the history of the text within the Jewish communities (option 4).⁵² This also enables the editor to include quotations and citations, in order to show how the texts were remembered in these communities. The Zamora manuscripts are very suitable to give testimony to the Sephardic tradition, showing the Jewish way of studying the Hebrew Bible in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, however, is only partly a Sephardic witness. The censoring of Targum Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings can be dated as approximately 1517 and located within the Christian University community of Spain. It therefore has to be treated as a late, ‘Christianized’ Targum. If the sigla of the Sephardic manuscripts all begin with the letter S (which is now the case in the edition of Targum Samuel on www.targum.nl), it is perhaps an idea to allot the Antwerp Polyglot the letters SC (Sephardic, Christianized). Two other witnesses of this ‘branch’ are the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1628–1645 with an almost identical

⁵¹) H. Sysling, ‘Quotations of Targumic Passages from the Prophets in Rabbinic and Medieval Sources’, in: A. Houtman, H. Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions: The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan* (SAIS, 9; Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 233.

⁵²) In comparison to the HUB project, described in J.A. Sanders, ‘*The Hebrew University Bible and Biblica Hebraica Quinta*’, *JBL* 118 (1999), pp. 518–526 (521).

text, and the Hutter Polyglot Bible of 1599, which is only completed up to the book of Ruth.

In conclusion, the Zamora manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible are to be treated differently with regard to a critical edition. The Zamora manuscripts can be incorporated as ‘normal’ Sephardic manuscripts. They can be used to show the history of the text within Sepharad (option 4). They are, however, less useful for the reconstruction of the final text (option 2), not because they are written within a Christian environment, but because they are relatively late within the Western branches (sixteenth century). The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, at least with respect to the books of Joshua through Kings, is not useful for either option. It is a purged text, the beginning of a different family in the stemma. If it is used in an edition, it must be indicated as such (SC). That will warn the user of the edition not to take the shorter text of the Polyglot as a possibly original version.